The formation of parishes
in twelfth-century Perthshire

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> The greatest work of transformation for the Scottish Church
> and people accomplished between the time of Saint Margaret
> and the middle of the thirteenth century was the creation of a
> national system of parishes.[1]

This statement neatly summarises the profound change in Scottish
society which was brought about by the establishment of a network of
local parishes. The formation of parishes took place within the general
framework of the ecclesiastical reformation which transformed the
Church in the kingdom of the Scots from the late eleventh to the mid-
thirteenth century and against the background of increasing Anglo-
Norman and continental influence on the kingship, government,
aristocracy and society of Scotland in the same period. Parishes
provided the bricks of which much of the reformed Scottish Church
was built, as the establishment of the bishoprics, cathedrals and
monasteries which were the principal channels by which Scotland was
brought fully into the mainstream of the Roman Catholic Church of
Christendom was sustained to a great degree by parochial revenues.
The kings of Scots, who were foremost in instigating and sustaining
reform, had limited resources but the creation of parishes provided a
ready source of revenue which could be diverted, through
appropriation, to the support of the new ecclesiastical institutions. The
formation of parishes, however, had consequences which extended
much further than the hierarchy of the Church as it bound all members
of society into a specific relationship with local churches, both
financially and pastorally. Each parish contained a community of
parishioners who were obliged to pay a tenth or teind[2] of their income

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[1]   G.W.S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), 72.
[2]   Scots teind, rather than English tithe, will be used throughout to refer to the
ecclesiastical tenth.

to the local church from whose incumbent priest they received the services of Christian ministry. The relationships which were created by the establishment of parishes, moreover, have continued to exercise a very substantial influence on the topography and people of Scotland by forming enduring local parish community identities which have only been significantly dislocated in comparatively recent times.

Despite the profound and enduring significance of the establishment of parishes in the kingdom of the Scots it has received relatively little detailed attention from historians. There is no comprehensive account of the formation of parishes and the best discussion of the subject is still a pioneering article by the late Professor Ian Cowan which is now over thirty-five years old.[3] The traditional view of the establishment of parishes in Scotland has stressed the role of Anglo-Norman influence and particularly of the new Anglo-Norman aristocracy who were steadily introduced into the kingdom from around the beginning of the twelfth century. Bishop Dowden, in what is still the standard work on the Church in medieval Scotland, published in 1910, describes the origin of parishes in a process by which, "a landowner, desirous of securing the ministrations of the Church for his family, and his tenants and serfs, would erect a building and grant some land ... for the support of a priest. And here is the origin of lay patronage. The grant of land was supplemented by tithes, and thus the parish clergy came to be established. ... The parochial system ... is an outcome of Anglo-Norman influence in the early part of the twelfth century."[4] While it was undoubtedly important, however, the Anglo-Norman influence has tended to be overstated. At the most excessive, it has been claimed that, "it was not that Celtic traditions were modified by Anglo-Norman ideas: in church even more than state the new polity completely superseded the old; an almost completely equipped church was substituted for the native chaotic order of things; and for carrying out this civil and ecclesiastical revolution David [i.e. King David I, 1124-

3   I.B. Cowan, "The Development of the Parochial System in Medieval Scotland", *Scottish Historical Review*, xl, 1961 (also reprinted in I.B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995), 1-11).
4   J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), 111-12.

53] relied on the Englishmen and Anglo-Normans whom he brought into the country in large numbers.[5]

It must be said, however, that the extent to which the formation of parishes was the work of newly settled Anglo-Norman lords has never been properly or fully examined in detail and their role in parochial establishment has been assumed rather that proven by historians. The character of Anglo-Norman influence on the formation of parishes has been assessed too much in terms of it having introduced to Scotland the concept and practice of local churches as appurtenances of an estate and in lay control: the "proprietary church". The foundation of such churches in continental Europe and England played a considerable part in establishing local churches which subsequently became parochial[6] and it has been imagined that churches which were in lay control, both in patronage and property, had to be created in Scotland before they could be elevated to parochial status. The proprietary church has been regarded as a feudal institution[7] and hence has been attributed in Scotland to the settlement of Anglo-Norman barons. It is certainly true that such churches were planted in Scotland by Anglo-Norman settlers.[8] Nevertheless, it is equally the case that lesser local churches had been founded in the kingdom, particularly in the southern part, from an early date and well in advance of the Anglo-Norman colonisation.[9] Furthermore, many churches had fallen into secular control during the later period of the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots and laymen frequently enjoyed the revenues of ecclesiastical offices and their churches. In Perthshire, for example, there is evidence of lay "abbots" at Dunkeld, Abernethy and Kilspindie, while the revenues of the Celtic bishopric of Dunblane and its dependent churches had been

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[5]   *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, ed. D. Patrick (Edinburgh, 1907), xx.

[6]   F. Kempf, "Constitution of the Church, Worship, Pastoral Care and Piety: 700-1050", in *History of the Church,* edd. H. Jedin and J. Dolan, iii, (London, 1980), 258-64; J.L. Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988), 1.

[7]   Kempf, "Constitution of the Church", 258-61.

[8]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 48.

[9]   *Ibid.*, 4, 7.

seized by lay lords before the twelfth century.[10] The situation differed from that in the rest of Europe only in that Scottish churches did not possess tithes which could be appropriated by secular landowners. Even if lay control of local churches is seen as a pre-condition for parochial formation, then, it is not necessary to postulate the widespread introduction of "Anglo-Norman" proprietary churches as a precursor to the establishment of "Anglo-Norman" parishes.

The formation of parishes in England was accomplished over a lengthy period between the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the mid-thirteenth century. Communal churches, known as *monasteria* or minsters, were established at important centres to provide pastoral care for large *parochiae* which were based upon secular territorial divisions shortly after the conversion of each kingdom. From the tenth century onwards there was a rapid proliferation of local or private churches with resident priests within the *parochiae* of the minsters and between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries these churches obtained parochial status, eclipsing the minsters and dividing their *parochiae* into local parishes. A parallel, and overlapping process, elevated chapels which had originally been dependencies of minsters to a parochial function.[11] Professor Cowan argued that the Scottish situation paralleled that in England, attributing the development of lesser churches perhaps to Celtic landowners and certainly to bishops before the twelfth century, but principally considering it a product of Anglo-Norman penetration and settlement.[12] There were communal churches in the Gaelic kingdom of the Scots which appear similar to the English minsters, some of which survived into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as at Dunblane, Muthill,

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[10]   *Regesta Regum Scottorum II: The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1971), no. 339; *Early Scottish Charters Prior to 1153*, ed. A.C. Lawrie [*ESC*] (Glasgow 1905) no. 14; *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864), no. 91; *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* (Edinburgh, 1843), no. 84.

[11]   Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 1-2.

[12]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 48.

Methven, Abernethy and Dunkeld in Perthshire.[13] There is also evidence for the erection of lesser churches both during the Anglo-Norman colonisation and before.[14] Even in identifying these two elements, however, Cowan failed to answer adequately the question which he raised of the extent to which the development of the parish system was influenced by earlier ecclesiastical organisation.[15] The question is a crucial one and it can be demonstrated that the relationship between earlier arrangements and parishes was of profound importance.

A further dimension of the process of parochial formation concerns the establishment of parishes both as defined territorial units and as communities of parishioners. Here too, the question of the extent to which pre-existing arrangements influenced developments is central. The "native chaotic order of things" is a poor assessment of the kingdom of the Scots before the twelfth century as there is abundant evidence of a highly structured system of administrative and jurisdictional territorial organisation at a local level during the Gaelic and, indeed, the Pictish period. The influence of that system on the development of a new type of local unit, the parish, must be properly assessed. Furthermore, pre-twelfth-century ecclesiastical arrangements must be discussed within the context of their contemporary territorial and social setting.

In south, east and central Perthshire, the main study area of this paper, seventy-two parishes were established during the twelfth century. The area contained the earldom of Strathearn, the earldom of Gowrie which had been in royal control since the eleventh century, and a large district stretching from south of Perth to Dunkeld, which was

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[13]   *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, ed. J. Dowden (Edinburgh, 1903), nos. 46, 47, 48, 51; *Liber Sancte Thome de Aberbrothoc*, edd. C. Innes and P. Chalmers, i, (Edinburgh, 1848), nos. 25, 34, 214, 215; Cowan, "Parochial System", 46; A. Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Edinburgh, 1831), 4-5; I.B. Cowan, and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (2nd edn. London, 1976), 47; D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* (Edinburgh, 1969), 101.
[14]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 47.
[15]   *Ibid.*, 44.

largely royal territory. Ecclesiastically, it was divided between the three dioceses of Dunblane, Dunkeld and St Andrews. The first stage in discussing the formation of this network of parishes must involve establishing the chronological limits within which it took place. It is also important to discover the legal mechanisms and the principal persons involved in the process.

The hallmark of the medieval parish system in Scotland, and a substantial part of its practical reality, was the payment of the teind. Teinds were the principal revenue which supported the new ecclesiastical order, whether expressed in local parish benefices or, via appropriation, in cathedrals and monastic houses.[16] Payment of teind was introduced to Perthshire, as to Scotland generally, by King David I; an innovation which "undoubtedly had the effect of territorially and legally creating the parochial unit".[17] There is no evidence that parochial teinds were paid in Scotland before David's reign (except, perhaps, in Lothian which was subject to the Anglian Church of Northumbria until the early twelfth century and may have had a rudimentary parish structure)[18] or that the king was merely enforcing an established but poorly observed practice.[19] Both Malcolm IV (1153-65) and William I (1165-1214), in their brieves enforcing teind payment, looked to King David as their point of legal reference for the

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[16]   I.B. Cowan, "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", *ante* xiii (1959), 204-5 (also in *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, 12-29).

[17]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 51.

[18]   M. Morgan, "The Organisation of the Scottish Church in the Twelfth Century", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (4th ser.), xxix (1947), 135.

[19]   In England, systematic attempts were made to enforce the payment of tithes by royal, episcopal and conciliar decrees from the early tenth century onwards; see *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, edd. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, i (Oxford, 1981), nos. 11, 17, 20, 27, 40, 86, 132. There is no evidence that similar decrees were issued in Scotland. The situation in Ireland, which in many ways provides the closest parallels to the tenth- to twelfth-century Scottish church, is unclear, but one of the complaints made by the twelfth-century ecclesiastical reformer *Maol Maodoc Ua Morgair* (St Malachy) of the inhabitants of his diocese of Conor and Down was that "they did not give first fruits or tithes". J. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), 17 (quoting the *Life of St Malachy* by Bernard of Clairvaux).

practice, suggesting that he was its originator in their kingdom.[20] Furthermore, there is some evidence which demonstrates David deliberately establishing and regulating the rights of pre-existing churches to the teinds of defined local areas which thereby became their parishes. Between 1147 and 1150, for example, King David presided over an agreement between Robert, bishop of St Andrews, and Geoffrey, abbot of Dunfermline, concerning the teind revenues and burial rights due to Eccles (now St Ninians), the mother church of the "soke" or shire of Stirling (*soca de Struelin*), in the light of a claim by the chapel of Stirling castle to a teind of the royal demesne lands within the shire as granted by Alexander I (1107-24).[21] The church of Eccles itself dates back to the fifth to seventh centuries and had probably had a long history as the *matrix ecclesia* (mother church) of the shire of Stirling before the mid-twelfth century, but the dispute over the teind revenues due to it indicates that it was undergoing a change in status as part of the process by which it was established as the local *ecclesia parochialis* (parish church). This must have taken place after Alexander I's grant of the demesne teinds, when the rights of any local parish church were not apparently a consideration. Further examples of the establishment of the teind rights of local churches under David I include the grant of the whole teinds and church dues of Haddingtonshire (*omnes decimas et rectitudines ecclesiasticas de tota Hadintunshire*) to St Mary's church of Haddington around 1141[22] and an important example which can be drawn from the evidence for Perthshire.

Around 1120, in a move of great significance for the reform of the Scottish Church, Alexander I granted the church of the Holy Trinity situated at Scone, the "principal seat of his kingdom" to a group of

20   *Regesta Regum Scottorum* [*RRS*] *I: The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-65*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), 65-6, no. 253; *RRS*, ii, nos. 71, 124, 281, 374.
21   *ESC*, no. 182; *RRS*, i, no. 50; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), 38-9. There are a number of early grants of the teind of various royal revenues such as that by King Alexander, but these should not be confused with parochial teinds.
22   *ESC*, no. 134.

Augustinian canons sent from the priory of St Oswald at Nostell in Yorkshire, together with its extensive endowment of lands and *conveth* dues.[23] It is evident, however, that this grant was made before the parochial establishment of Scone, for David I granted to the canons at the church the teind of the whole parish of Scone (*decimam totius parochie de Scon*) in grain, cheeses, catches of fish, and all else from which teind was due.[24] The specification in the charter of items on which teinds were to be rendered is significant as it suggests that the concept and practice of teind payment was as yet unfamiliar in the kingdom and therefore needed clear explanation. Despite the difficulties involved in interpreting correctly the twelfth-century use of the term *parochia*,[25] it is clear that at Scone the term was used by David I in the specific sense of an area which rendered teind to a local baptismal church. It was the teind of the same area which Richard, bishop of St Andrews, confirmed to Scone Abbey *in proprios usus* between 1165 and 1178[26] and King David's grant formed the basis for a legal decision by William I regarding the rights of the canons of Scone to the teind of fishings in the River Tay adjacent to the parochial territory.[27]

It is important to appreciate the innovatory nature of the establishment of the teind rights of local churches which began under David I as we can identify thereby the chronological appearance of parish churches amongst the large number of pre-existing churches and chapels in Perthshire. Such earlier churches had been supported by landed endowments and possibly by certain customary dues.[28] Teinds, therefore, are the most useful distinguishing feature of medieval parish churches and as a determining criterion in accounting a church to be

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[23]   *Scone Liber*, no. 1. The phrase *ecclesie de Scon in principali sedi regni nostre fundate* is used in a confirmation of the foundation of the abbey by Malcolm IV; *RRS*, i, no. 234.

[24]   *RRS*, i, no. 57 (7).

[25]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 43-4; cf. Blair, *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 1.

[26]   *Scone Liber*, no. 48. For the significance of the phrase *in proprios usus* see Cowan, "Some Aspects of Appropriation", 207.

[27]   *RRS*, ii, no. 65. The closely contemporary endorsement of this charter: *Willelmus Rex de decimis piscium parochie de Scon*, should be noted.

[28]   Cowan, "Parochial System", 51.

parochial that church must be recorded with teind rights. The identification of such churches may be made in several ways. Where a church is recorded *cum decimis*, with teinds, usually in a grant appropriating it to a religious house, the conclusion is obvious. The earliest Perthshire example of such a grant concerns the church of Longforgan and dates to between 1147 and 1152.[29] A more cautious approach is necessary when dealing with churches which were granted by charters using less precise phrases such as *cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis*, with all its rightful appurtenances, since it cannot always be assumed that these implied teind rights in a twelfth-century context.[30] Nevertheless, several churches which were so granted can be shown to be entitled to teind rights shortly after the initial grant.

The church of Logie on the southern border of Perthshire, for example, was confirmed to the Cistercian nuns of North Berwick by Simon, bishop of Dunblane, *cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis*, following a grant by Duncan (II), earl of Fife, (1159-1204).[31] Within his father's lifetime, however, Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan, confirmed the church to the nunnery using the much more precise phrase *cum terra eiusdem ecclesie et cum decimis pertinentibus*,[32] with the lands of the same church and the teinds pertaining to it. Similarly, the church of Meigle was first granted to the priory of St Andrews by Simon de Meigle before 1183 with its chapel and kirktoun and with the revenues which his predecessors used to receive from it annually.[33] A charter by

[29]   *ESC*, no. 225 (that the church concerned is Longforgan, not Forgan in Fife as supposed by Lawrie, is demonstrated by a confirmation of the grant by Malcolm IV in which he added to the possessions of the church part of the carucate of land with which he had previously endowed the church. The carucate involved was Kingoodie, which is in Longforgan parish at Grid Reference NO 33 29; *RRS*, i, nos. 122, 123).

[30]   The church of Holy Trinity, Dunkeld, for example, was granted to Dunfermline Abbey and confirmed by Malcolm IV in such terms (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1842), nos. 123, 36) but was never entitled to teinds and did not become parochial.

[31]   *Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1847), nos. 5, 9.

[32]   *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, iv (1926), 308-9.

[33]   The grant is known from a papal confirmation of 1183 by Lucius III, *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1841), 59

William I, however, dating to between 1178 and 1185, makes it clear that the revenues in question were teinds.[34] In such cases, it would be misleading to attribute the parochial elevation of the churches involved to the period between the imprecise initial grant and the subsequent reference where teind rights are specifically mentioned. Rather, the evidence should be read in the light of the developing precision and standardisation in the usage of legal terminology which occurred in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, combined in this instance with the desire to promote the novel idea and practice of teind payment.

In a number of instances where the available evidence is less explicit than that provided by grants of appropriation, churches may be recognised as parochial by the date at which their incumbent clergy are recorded as parsons, since the office of parson was a benefice which depended on the support of parish teinds.[35] Although caution has been urged with regard to the twelfth-century usage of such ecclesiastical terms in English records,[36] it seems that *persona* or parson was adopted into Scottish legal terminology only with the precise meaning of parish priest, which became firmly established in England in the course of the twelfth century. Amongst the Scottish charters dating to before 1153 collected by Sir Archibald Lawrie,[37] references to priests and other clerics are relatively frequent. The Latin terms which were used for these priests are *sacerdos* and *presbyter*,[38] while the Gaelic cognate of the former, *sacart*, was apparently used for priests of the Celtic Church.[39] The priests who are recorded by these terms, however, were neither certainly nor exclusively parish incumbents and the terms were employed to describe a variety of clerics. Some appear without

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[34]   *RRS*, ii, no. 201.

[35]   Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 113-14; G.W.O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Canon Law* (London, 1956), 6-7.

[36]   B.R. Kemp, "Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxi (1980), 148-9; M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (London, 1975), 231.

[37]   *Early Scottish Charters.*

[38]   Cf. J.H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word List* (London, 1934), 327.

[39]   K.H. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, 1972), 31, 35, no. iv; cf. *ESC*, nos. 14 and 80 for *sacerdos* used of Celtic clerics, probably in translation of *sacart*.

designation by a church,[40] while others are attached to churches which were not parochial by the date of the reference, even if they later became so.[41] Viewed against this vague usage, the three instances where the term *persona* appears in Lawrie's collection are impressive in their precision and always refer to the holders of benefices enjoying teind rights. When Robert, bishop of St Andrews, confirmed the grant of the lands and parish churches of Channelkirk and Saltoun made by Hugh de Moreville to Dryburgh Abbey in around 1150, he specified that the churches were to be held as the parsons held them, after their deaths.[42] In other words, the abbey was to assume the benefices of the parochial clergy. Similarly, when Roger de Ov granted Langton church to Kelso Abbey in around 1150 he specified that the church was to be held with all its appurtenances, in free and perpetual alms, as Henry, parson of the same held it.[43] Henry the parson was a witness to this charter and between 1162 and 1164, presumably after his death, the church with its teinds was confirmed to the abbey by Arnold, bishop of St Andrews.[44] In the third instance, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, placed Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, in sasine of the church of Borthwick in Midlothian and, on the presentation of Bishop Herbert, received the prior of Scone as parson (*in personam*).[45] In 1163 or 1164 the church of Borthwick was confirmed to the new abbey of Scone with its teinds and other dues and a brieve of William I which dates to between 1165 and 1174 indicates that the teind rights of the parsonage

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[40] *ESC*, nos. 20, 212.

[41] For example, *ESC*, no. 73, dating to 1127, has among its witnesses priests of Oldhamstock, Ayton, Lennel (now Coldstream), Ednam and Legerwood. Although all of these churches eventually became parochial, only Ednam was definitely so by 1127, while at least Ayton was certainly not by that date.

[42] *ESC*, no. 211.

[43] *Ibid.*, no. 192 and p.410.

[44] *Liber S Marie de Calchou*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1846), no. 451.

[45] *ESC*, no. 230, where the text has been mistranscribed by Lawrie. The reading *in personam* is confirmed by *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1843), no. 11. The charter has a witness list which is evidently a later composite but there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the body of the text which dates to between 1147 and 1150.

of Borthwick church dated from the time of David I.[46] The usage of *persona* in Scotland, then, appears to have been precise from the first, perhaps because the term was imported from England only in the mid-twelfth century, by which time the anomalies in its use there were fast disappearing.

The parsons who begin to appear as charter witnesses in records concerning Perthshire from the mid-twelfth century onwards are always connected with a local church and in a number of cases these churches can be shown to be parochial at a similar date from other evidence. At Muthill, for example, the first known parson, Patrick, appears in the time of Lawrence, bishop of Dunblane (1155-71).[47] His successor, Michael, is recorded between 1179 and 1198[48] and was evidently the parochial incumbent when Malise, brother of Earl Gilbert of Strathearn, granted the church *cum decimis* to Lindores Abbey in the 1190s.[49] In another example, Stephen, parson of Errol, is first recorded as a witness to an agreement over the teinds due to his church from lands held by Coupar Angus abbey within the parish.[50] Given the nature of the usage of *persona*, we can safely assume that the appearance of a parson in record sources implies that the church to which he was attached was already parochial. The use of such evidence gives us our earliest record of nineteen of the Perthshire parishes under consideration.

Through a detailed examination of the surviving evidence, the earliest recorded dates for all of the Perthshire parishes can be assembled.[51] Of the seventy-two parishes in existence before 1300[52]

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[46] *RRS*, i, no. 243; *RRS*, ii, no. 124.

[47] *Registrum Monasterii Sancte Marie de Cambuskenneth*, ed. W. Fraser (London, 1872), no. 218.

[48] *N.B. Chrs.*, no. 5; *Arb. Lib.*, i, nos. 211, 212.

[49] *Lind. Cart.*, no. 127.

[50] *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, (Edinburgh, 1947), nos. 3, 4, 5.

[51] This evidence is presented in full in J.M. Rogers, "The Formation of the Parish Unit and Community in Perthshire" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992), 26-41 and 58-60, Table I (earliest known dates of parish churches).

[52] Only four more parishes were formed in Perthshire between 1300 and the Reformation, all in the late fifteenth century.

just over half are recorded before the end of the reign of William I in 1214. Three quarters are known by the middle of the thirteenth century, but not until the lists compiled by Master Baiamund de Vitia, Papal collector in Scotland for the Crusading tithe in 1274 and 1275, known as Bagimond's Roll,[53] does the full total become apparent. Nevertheless, this evidence alone cannot answer fully the questions regarding the chronology of the parochial organisation of Perthshire and there are several reasons for suggesting that the establishment of parishes was virtually completed by the end of the twelfth century.

Most significantly, all of the evidence which indicates the actual process of parochial formation is of twelfth-century date. The earliest example of this process under David I at Scone has already been discussed and to that can be added several further cases. At Abernethy, the medieval parish was formed when the old Celtic abbacy was dismantled by William I following the death of Orm, the hereditary lay abbot between 1189 and 1195. Orm's son, Laurence, only succeeded to his father's landed estate, not the abbacy from which it derived.[54] In another instance, at Inchture, an episcopal chapel of the bishops of St Andrews was elevated to parochial status by Bishop Richard and King William I, apparently acting in conjunction, between 1165 and 1170.[55] The joint action may have been necessary because the bishops had anterior rights in the chapel which was to be promoted while the lands of Inchture which were to form the parish territory were a royal estate. In contrast to these examples, very few, if any, instances of parochial establishment can be inferred from the increasingly full body of source material which becomes available in the thirteenth century.

[53]   Theiner, *Monumenta*, no. 91; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, edd. W. Bliss *et al.* (London, 1893), i, no. 449; *Bagimond's Roll: Statement of the Tenths of the Kingdom of Scotland*, ed. A.I. Dunlop in *Scottish History Society Miscellany*, vi (1939), 3rd ser. 33, 1-77.

[54]   *RRS*, ii, no. 339; I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1967), 41, 67; *Arb. Lib.*, i, no. 35.

[55]   *RRS*, ii, nos. 23, 240; National Library of Scotland, Adv. MSS.15.1.18, no. 22; *St A. Lib.* 138-9, 147-9; cf. *ibid.*, 149-52 which records the grant of Inchture both *ex dono Regis Willelmi* and *ex donacione bene memorie Ricardi episcopi*.

Furthermore, the evidence suggests that by around 1200 the parishes which are recorded were part of a well-established and clearly understood system. A grant of the church of Fowlis Wester in 1210, provides a remarkably full definition of a working medieval parish.[56] Four other Strathearn churches were granted to the priory of Inchaffray by Gilbert, earl of Strathearn, in almost exactly the same terms between 1200 and 1123, and we may suppose that the five others also granted by Earl Gilbert, but for which the available evidence is less explicit, were equally fully installed.[57] Similar examples of well-established parishes can be drawn from elsewhere in Perthshire, particularly persuasive amongst which are the agreements made by Coupar Angus Abbey with the churches of Errol, Rattray and Cargill in Gowrie between 1189 and 1203, whereby the abbey commuted the teinds of lands belonging to it in those parishes for fixed money payments.[58] From these agreements, it must be inferred that the lands acquired by the abbey in the later twelfth century were already settlements paying teinds to known parish centres, or were undeveloped lands within fixed geographical parish boundaries which would be expected to render teinds to their respective churches when exploited by the abbey.[59]

We must allow, then, that by the end of the twelfth century Perthshire was provided with a comprehensive network of parishes. The principal persons involved in the establishment of those parishes can be identified, in part at least, as those who are first recorded as the patrons of the parish churches. Much land in Perthshire remained in the hands of native lords or the kings of Scots throughout the twelfth and much of the thirteenth centuries. The penetration of incoming Anglo-Norman settlers occurred later than in the south of Scotland and largely after the parochial organisation of the sheriffdom had been completed.

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[56] *Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, edd. W. A. Lindsay *et al.* (Edinburgh, 1908), no. 28.

[57] *Ibid.*, nos. 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 39, 45.

[58] *C.A. Chrs.*, i, nos. 3, 4, 6, 7.

[59] For the development of the wasteland of "Ederpolles" (now Carsegrange) in Errol parish by the monks of Coupar see *RRS*, ii, no. 322 and notes, p. 332; A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 176, 320-1.

Only in a very few cases, at Errol, Foulis Easter, and perhaps Findogask and Methven, can the formation of a parish be related directly to the prior establishment of the feudal holding of an incoming lord.[60] By contrast with this, the kings of Scots and their native earls can be shown to have been largely responsible for the creation of parishes on their lands

The churches of the four royal manors of Gowrie – Scone, Coupar, Longforgan and Strathardle – were promoted to parochial status at an early date, and the kings of Scots were also involved in parochial organisation elsewhere in the earldom at Inchture and Rossie. Amongst their extensive demesne lands in southern Perthshire, the kings were responsible for creating the parishes of Rhynd, Perth, Forteviot and Kinclaven,[61] which all appear on record in royal patronage. The kings of Scots also appear to have been closely involved in establishing parishes which are first recorded in the patronage of the bishops of Dunkeld on lands which they inherited through the lay abbacy of the old Celtic monastery of Dunkeld. The fact that well over half of the churches in episcopal patronage were on royal lands suggests that they were deliberately assigned to the cathedral by the crown. It is possible, indeed, that the parishes were erected and granted to the see as part of a single process designed to establish a reformed ecclesiastical structure in central Perthshire, where the Celtic abbey and bishopric had once exercised jurisdiction.

After the Crown, the most significant landholders in twelfth-century Perthshire were the native families who held the earldoms of Atholl, Menteith and Strathearn. Atholl lies outwith the main study area but, from grants of Logierait church to Scone Abbey and Moulin to Dunfermline Abbey by Malcolm, earl of Atholl before 1189, we can infer that the parochial organisation of the earldom was underway in the second half of the twelfth century and that the earls were closely involved in the process.[62] The involvement of the native earls is seen

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60   Rogers, "Formation of the Parish", 45-47.
61   *Ibid.*, 27-29, 42-43, 139-46; *RRS*, i, no. 257; *RRS*, ii, nos. 141, 323, 371; Myln, *Vitae*, 10.
62   *RRS*, ii, no. 336; *Dunf. Reg.*, no. 147.

more clearly in the diocese of Dunblane, which incorporated the earldoms of Strathearn and Menteith. The reconstitution of the see around the middle of the twelfth century appears to have been very largely the work of the earls of Strathearn, who were regarded by the Papacy as patrons of the cathedral church and episcopal office and are described in a royal charter of 1442 as superior lords of the bishop and chapter.[63] Just as the earls were closely involved in ecclesiastical reform at diocesan level, so too they were prominent in the establishment of parishes within their earldom and no fewer than sixteen parish churches were in the patronage of the earls. For parishes in the earldom of Menteith which, like Atholl lies outwith the main study area, a similar pattern is evident. Of the six parishes into which the earldom was divided, five at least were in comital patronage.[64]

The predominance of traditional royal and comital landowners in parochial formation, and the fact that it was completed substantially in advance of Anglo-Norman colonisation, would seem to support the validity of examining the process in relation to the old order of ecclesiastical organisation in the Gaelic kingdom which would have been familiar to the founders of parishes. Such an examination must begin with the parish churches themselves but it is not easy to assess either the extent or character of local church provision in Perthshire before the twelfth century and, correspondingly, to determine the degree of continuity between pre-parochial and parochial churches. The documentary record directly illustrates churches surviving into the twelfth century from the previous period to adopt a parochial role at only a few locations, and then usually concerns churches which were of more than ordinary importance. At Abernethy, Muthill, Dunblane and Methven, small communities of Celtic clergy continued to operate into the thirteenth century and it seems that a similar body had been in

[63] Theiner, *Monumenta*, nos. 284, 386; *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870), ii, 78; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 58, appendix no. 8.

[64] *Liber Insule Missarum*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1847), appendix no. 11; W. Fraser, *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880), no. 6.

existence at Dunkeld until the late twelfth century.[65] Of these churches, however, at least Dunblane, Abernethy and Dunkeld were early ecclesiastical centres of considerable importance and two of them survived as the seats of reformed bishoprics.[66] Muthill and Methven, and to an extent Abernethy, declined in status to become ordinary parish churches.[67]

Such archaeological and architectural evidence as exists does not take the discussion much further. The round tower at Abernethy and the square towers at Dunblane, Muthill and Dunning which are associated with later parish churches were probably built between 1090 and 1130 by religious communities which were still sufficiently active and important at that period to require a substantial belfry, a place of secure deposit and a secure refuge.[68] They indicate a continuity of ecclesiastical occupation and function at these sites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially when taken in conjunction with the documented survival of communities of clergy at all of the churches except Dunning. Nevertheless, this evidence is still restricted to a small number of churches.

A further group of churches may be related to earlier ecclesiastical sites by their apparent association with carved cross-bearing slabs of the Pictish and immediately post-Pictish period. Although the function and significance of Pictish monumental sculpture are matters of some debate, it can hardly be doubted that at Meigle, which has a large and impressive collection of cross-slabs and other carved stones, there was a church of some importance with an associated sculpture workshop in

[65] *Lind. Cart.*, nos. 46-48, 51; *Arb. Lib.*, i, nos. 25, 34, 214, 215; Myln, *Vitae*, 4-5; *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 47; Watt, *Fasti*, 101.

[66] G. Donaldson, "Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of David I", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, lxxxvii (1952-53), 108-10, 113, 115; J. Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland* (London, 1894), 119; W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1886-90), ii, 307-11.

[67] Cowan, "Parochial System", 44-45; *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 89.

[68] E. Fernie, "Early Church Architecture in Scotland", *PSAS*, cxvi (1986), 393, 407; S. Cruden, *Scottish Medieval Churches*, (Edinburgh, 1986), 10, 14-20.

the eighth to tenth centuries.[69] In other cases it may also be argued that where cross-slabs are known to have been discovered or located at or near a parish church the ecclesiastical associations of the site are of some antiquity. Hence Alyth, Fowlis Wester, St Madoes, Rossie, Crieff, Dunning, Dupplin and Muckersie may date back as church sites to the eighth to tenth centuries.[70] Certainly, cross-slabs at Dunblane, Dunkeld, Abernethy and Forteviot are associated with churches which are known from other evidence to date from the early Christian period.[71] At most of these sites, however, the important factor of continuity and occupation and use of the churches cannot be demonstrated even if, by analogy with Dunblane, Abernethy and Dunkeld, such continuity seems likely.

A more substantial body of evidence for local churches before the twelfth century exists in the tutelary dedications which were attached to parish churches. The importance of this type of evidence to the discussion of the early Scottish Church has, of course, long been recognised but the use which has been made of it has not always been sufficiently critical or careful. The evidence of dedications demonstrates the influence of a saint's cult in topographical and ecclesiastical naming, either through direct personal association of the saint with a place, through the missionary work of the followers of the saint or, perhaps most commonly, through admiration for the saint within the general milieu of popular religious belief. For the purposes of this discussion the importance of dedicatory evidence depends on the date at which the dedications were attached to the Perthshire churches. If the dedications can be shown to belong largely to the period before the twelfth century then the original churches themselves can be similarly dated, whereas a large number of twelfth-century or later

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[69]   J.R. Allen and J. Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), ii, 296-305, 329-40; *The Meigle Museum, Perthshire: Catalogue of Early Christian and Pictish Monuments* (Edinburgh, 1957).
[70]   Allen and Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments*, ii, 286, 289, 292-96, 306-7, 313-5, 319-21, 327-8.
[71]   *Ibid.*, 308-10, 315-8, 321-27; L. Alcock, "Forteviot: A Pictish and Scottish Royal Church and Palace", in *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland*, ed. S.M. Pearce (BAR British Series 102, 1982), 211-40.

dedications would imply the widespread establishment of wholly new churches or at least a very substantial reorganisation in local church provision.

The assembled evidence for Perthshire churches[72] demonstrates that the large majority of parish dedications were to saints belonging to the insular church who were active in the fifth to ninth centuries. Twenty-five churches were certainly so dedicated with another twenty nine very probably so. Nine churches had scriptural dedications while three were dedicated to non-scriptural, continental saints. The dating of these dedications is difficult but it is possible to demonstrate that a considerable number of the churches received their dedications before the twelfth century. In two cases, Kilbride and Kirkmichael (which was originally called Kilmichael), the name of a tutelary saint forms the qualifying element of a place-name containing the early Gaelic word *cill*, meaning church. Such names are not likely to have been formed much after 800 AD.[73] Similarly, Exmagirdle embodies the P-Celtic *egles* in a compound name with the saint's name Grillan as the qualifier and belongs to the Pictish Church of the mid-fifth to seventh centuries.[74] A further five church sites: Forgandenny, Findogask, Logiebride, Cambusmichael and Tibbermore, belong to the early stratum of place-names which incorporate the tutelary saint as the qualifying element in a compound name with the descriptive topographical word for the site of the church.[75] Interestingly, the names of Kirkmichael, Cambusmichael and Tibbermore, incorporating respectively the Archangel and Virgin, demonstrate that scriptural dedications as well as those to insular saints may belong to the early period.

The inclusion of St Brigid in the *cill* name of Kilbride and in Logiebride is interesting as it allows a similarly early date for two further dedications to the saint at Abernethy and Fossoway to be

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[72]   Presented in Rogers, "Formation of the Parish", 78 and 85-89, Table II (Dedications of Parish Churches).
[73]   W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, (London, 1976), 143-44.
[74]   G.W.S. Barrow, "The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a note on some place-name evidence", *Scottish Studies*, xxvii (1983), 7, 12.
[75]   *Ibid.*, 1-2.

postulated. The group of dedications may indicate a local cult of St Brigid, perhaps connected with the tradition that Abernethy was granted to the saint by Nechtan, king of Picts.[76] A similar cult, possibly of eighth- or ninth-century date, may explain the five dedications to St Serf which stretch from his traditional centre at Culross on the Forth (in Perthshire until 1891) north to and along Strathearn by way of Dupplin, Dunning, Monzievaird and Tullicheddill.[77] Another such local cult would account for the several commemoration, including the churches of Kinkell and Fowlis Wester, of St Bean (or Beoánn) in upper Strathearn and Glenalmond.[78]

Where the early ecclesiastical associations of the site of a parish church with a dedication to an insular saint are also indicated by the presence of early Christian archaeological evidence such as a cross-slab of eighth- to tenth-century date, it may be permissible to assign the dedication to a similarly early date with some confidence. One such dedication, that of Dunkeld, may be closely dateable if, as seems probable, it was related to the transfer in 849 of some of the saint's relics to the church of Dunkeld which had been built or rebuilt shortly beforehand by Kenneth mac Alpin.[79] An eighth- or ninth-century date can also be inferred for the dedications of Dunning, Dupplin, Abernethy and Fowlis Wester, all of which have cross-slabs if, as suggested, they belong to local cult groupings. The dedication of Dunblane may date to as early as the seventh-century lifetime of its saint as Dunblane is recorded as the principal monastery of Bláán, bishop of Kingarth in Bute.[80] If so, it would pre-date the sculptured

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[76] Chronicles of the Picts: Chronicles of the Scots, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867), 6; A.O. Anderson, Early Sources of Scottish History, 500-1286 (Edinburgh, 1922), i, pp. cxx-cxxi; 121-2.

[77] W.J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1926), 332; Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii, 258-9.

[78] Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 310-11.

[79] Skene, Celtic Scotland, i, 305, 310, 316 and note 75.

[80] Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 164, 273; M.O. Anderson, "Columba and Other Irish Saints in Scotland", in Historical Studies, ed. J.L. McCracken, 5 (London, 1965), 27.

stones there by at least a century[81] as, indeed, many of the churches associated with cross-slabs may in origin pre-date the sculptures. Some churches with associated early Christian sculpture but scriptural dedications also appear to be dateable to the pre-parochial period. The dedication of Meigle to St Peter most probably belongs to a group of Peter dedications in eastern Scotland which can be related to the mission of the Northumbrian cleric Curitan to southern Pictland in 714-17,[82] or at least more generally to the Romanizing reform of the Pictish Church in the early eighth century. A further scriptural dedication, that of Crieff to the Archangel Michael, may be of a comparable date to the eighth-century dedications of Kirkmichael and Cambusmichael and, if so, demonstrates again a correspondence between an early dedication and early Christian sculpture. The remaining Perthshire churches which apparently show a correspondence between early dedication and early Christian sculpture are Alyth, St Madoes and Rossie, while Muckersie, the only church with a cross-slab whose dedication has not survived, may be of a similarly early date.

Beyond the cases where an early date for the tutelary dedication of a church is supported by other evidence most of the dedications to insular saints cannot be closely dated. As most of the dedications are to less well known saints, however,[83] and there is ample evidence of the early date of dedications to saints from the same milieu in the cases already discussed, it is not too arbitrary to assign most of them to before the twelfth century. There are few parish church dedications, indeed, which appear to have originated in the period from the twelfth century onwards. The dedication to St Laurence at Monzie may be of such a date, since another commemoration of the saint, at Rossie in

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81   Allen and Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments*, ii, 315-17, assigns Dunblane no. 1 to the late Class III grouping of stones but it is an unusual cross-slab which may be earlier than allowed by Allen and Anderson's classification. Certainly, the fragment known as Dunblane no. 2 shows interlace and key patterns which are analogous to the Northumbrian-influenced sculpture of the eighth century.

82   Duncan, *Making of the Kingdom*, 71; I. Henderson, "Pictish Archaeological Sites", in *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c.400-c.1600*, edd. P.G.B. McNeill and R.G. Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975), 11-13 and map 11.

83   Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 27, argues that dedications to lesser-known saints are likely to be early associations.

Gowrie, was apparently added to an earlier dedication to St Commán in the twelfth or early thirteenth century.[84] The date of dedication of certain other churches such as Perth to St John and Arngask to St Columba must also remain doubtful and dedicatory evidence does not assist us with the chronology of the twenty-seven churches whose tutelary saints are unknown. Of these latter, however, at least Forteviot, Bendochy and Muckersie can be shown to pre-date the twelfth century from other evidence.

The sum of evidence which is available demonstrates that a very large proportion of the parish churches of twelfth-century Perthshire were the successors to earlier local churches. The fact that a parish church can be shown to be on an earlier church site does not, of course, prove in itself the continual use of a church there from the date of its origin until it was promoted to parochial status. There are, however, strong indications that this was the case. That so many churches which became parochial in the twelfth century retained their earlier tutelary saints suggests that those dedications had been maintained by their attachment to churches which had continued to function locally in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This is a particularly persuasive argument as it seems that, in this late phase of the Celtic Church, close familiarity with hagiology waned, necessitating a reconstruction of various details of saints' lives in the later middle ages.[85] Had strong ties between local churches and their tutelary saints not continued in this period there seems little reason for the survival of the early dedications during the wholesale reconstruction of the Scottish Church in the twelfth century when it might otherwise have been expected that popular saints from the Roman hagiology would have replaced those of the native tradition to a far greater extent than is apparent.

The continuity which is apparent between parish churches and earlier local churches, however, is only one aspect of the process of parochial formation. A parish church was the ecclesiastical focus of a parish but, while technically and legally a parish was the area over

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[84]   Laurence was one of the saints added to the dedication of the church of Scone in 1120 (*Scone Liber*, no. 1) and may indicate the growing influence of Roman hagiology in Scotland.
[85]   Anderson, "Irish Saints in Scotland", 26-7.

which the church exercised pastoral jurisdiction and from which it enjoyed teinds, in practice each parish also embodied a defined unit of settlement. Each parish in the new network was a community of parishioners in its fullest social and territorial expression. Discussing the European situation in general, Dr Susan Reynolds has commented that, "By the thirteenth century there is ample evidence that many parishes were in fact very effective communities. Yet it has to be acknowledged that the most effective of them were those ... which also enjoyed a purely secular unity. Hard as it is, moreover, to say how far one sort of unity promoted the other or profited from it, one point seems certain: parish communities did not develop because of any particular encouragement from the hierarchy of the church".[86]

While reinforcing the importance of the parish community, this statement seems to pose a crucial question in the Scottish context: that of the significance of the secular pattern of settlement and territorial organisation which was contemporary with the creation of parishes in determining the forms taken by them. The extreme rapidity of parochial establishment in Scotland, by comparison with the lengthy process which occurred in England and on the continent, would seem to have allowed little scope for a gradual evolution of parish communities as such. Nor, however, is there any evidence to suggest that parishes were artificially delineated by the ecclesiastical authorities or by secular powers on their behalf. Since it is apparent that the establishment of parishes did not depend on the contemporary establishment of the new form of secular territorial unit, the knight's feu, it may be that pre-existing settlement units exercised a substantial influence on the forms taken by parishes. In England, indeed, the relationship between pre-feudal secular territorial units and parishes has been sufficiently well demonstrated to enable discussion of the former to proceed on the basis of evidence provided by parish boundaries.[87] Such a discussion of the

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[86]   S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984), 79.
[87]   See, for example, G.W.S. Barrow, "Introduction to Part I; Territorial Organisation: Resources and Boundaries", and D. Bonney, "Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England", in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1976), 13, 72-6; D. Roffe, "Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish

Scottish situation would be premature. Nevertheless, the influence of secular settlement units on the formation of parishes must be considered if that process is to be fully understood.

The documentary record of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrates that the basic unit of settlement organisation in *Scotia*, Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde line, was the multiple estate, as it was throughout Wales, England and Scotland in the pre-feudal period, known by a variety of local names.[88] This pattern of territorial organisation apparently developed in Britain during the Celtic period, as it pre-dates the Anglo-Saxon colonisation of England. The Scotian multiple estates had their origins in the Pictish period, although they reached the fully developed form which is evident from medieval charter sources in the Gaelic kingdom. Multiple estates were essentially units of lordship and took the form of a principal settlement or *caput* with a number of dependent settlements. The *caput* was the focal point for the lord's authority in the estate and was where he or his local representative would have his residence and hold his court. The demesne lands of the estate would also be centred on the *caput* and the inhabitants of the estate were required to perform defined duties related to the farming of the demesne. In addition, they were required to render specified dues to the lord at the *caput*.[89] Multiple estates, however, were not simply abstract units of lordship. They contained within their bounds all of the resources required to support their economies and, thereby, to produce the necessary renders. Accordingly, they were arranged in the landscape to best exploit the available resources, which often produced rather irregular geographical forms and frequently led to a specialisation of function, such as the management of pasture,

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Boundaries", in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. Faull (1984), esp. 115-16; D. Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon Staffordshire* (University of Keele, 1983), 32-3.

[88]   Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 7-68, esp. 27-8; P.H. Sawyer, *English Medieval Settlement* (London, 1979), 7; Sawyer, *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, 7; G.R.J. Jones, "The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement", in *L'habitat et les Paysages Ruraux d'Europe*, ed. F. Dussart (Université de Liege, 1971), 251-67.

[89]   Jones, "The Multiple Estate", 251-4.

amongst the component settlements.[90] For the purposes of this discussion, multiple estates are significant as they appear, usually called shires or thanages although also know by other names, as the operating units of local territorial organisation immediately before and during the period of parochial formation.

A detailed examination of the forms and components of the multiple estates of Perthshire and those of its parishes reveals a striking correspondence.[91] Of the seventy-two parishes under consideration, twenty-eight can be directly related to known multiple estates in their territorial forms, while a further twenty-seven may probably be so on relatively strong evidence. In other words, over two-thirds of the Perthshire parishes shared their territorial forms with pre-existing local secular estates. In the two earldoms within the study area the evidence for this correspondence of form is particularly impressive. Of the parishes in Gowrie only three cannot be related to pre-existing settlement units with any certainty while in Stratheam sixteen of the eighteen parishes shared their forms with earlier multiple estates. The Stratheam pattern is particularly impressive as a number of large, complex estates were involved and their forms were adopted wholesale as parochial territories despite the fact that they can hardly have provided convenient pastoral districts. Outwith the earldoms, in the area around Perth and in central Perthshire, the available evidence presents a less comprehensive picture of the correspondence between the forms of multiple estates and parishes. Nevertheless, at least seven parishes provide clear examples of such a relationship and a further seventeen also seem to do so, if on less certain evidence.

When the evidence for the pre-twelfth century existence of the Perthshire churches which became parochial and which can be shown to have had a continuity of usage from their pre-parochial to their parochial functions is laid alongside that for the form of parish units a further element in the pattern becomes apparent. In Stratheam, all but two of the parishes which borrowed their forms from multiple estates

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[90]   Sawyer, *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, 6-7; Barrow, "Territorial Organisation: Resources and Boundaries", 11.
[91]   Each of the parishes is examined in detail in Rogers, "Formation of the Parish", 123-400.

had parish churches which demonstrably had been churches before their parochial elevation. Thus underlying those parishes were the thanage of Balquhidder with the church of St Angus; the shire of Crieff with the church of St Michael; the shire of Dunblane with its communal church of St Bláán; the shire of Dunning, the thanage of Monzievaird, and the lordship of Tullicheddill with their churches dedicated to St Serf; the lordship of Fossoway with the church of St Brigid; the shire of Fowlis Wester with the church of St Bean; the *cathairs*[92] of Muthill and Strogeith with their churches of St Patrick; the thanage of Strowan with the church of St Ronan and the lordship of Comrie with the church of St Cessoc. In addition, the lordship of Dunfallin which lent its form to Trinity Gask parish contained the church of *Gasc Crist*. The date of the Christ or Trinity dedication is uncertain but it was most probably pre-parochial. The thanage of Monzie with its church dedicated to St Laurence and, therefore, of uncertain date, is the only multiple estate which does not readily conform to the common pattern.

In Gowrie a similar situation to that in Stratheam is evident, with parishes based upon the thanage of Alyth with the church of Mo-Luóc, the thanage of Foulis Easter with the church of Mo-Emoc, the manor of Longforgan with St Andrews church, the manor of Scone with its pre-parochial Trinity church, the manor of Strathardle and the estate of Cambusmichael with their churches dedicated to the Archangel, the lordship of Collace with the church of St Ucan, the lordship of Meigle with the early important church dedicated to St Peter, and the lordship of St Madoes which borrowed its name from its church of St Doc or Cadoc.

The evidence for the Perth district and central Perthshire is less full than that for the earldoms. Even so, the familiar pattern is apparent with parishes based on the shire of Abernethy with its important communal church of St Brigid; the thanage of Forteviot with its early royal church; the thanage of Madderty which, as at St Madoes,

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[92]   Gaelic *cathair*, found in place-names, has traditionally been translated as "fort" with particular reference to the remains of Roman camps. It should be read, however, as a type of district name, indicating a unit analogous to those more commonly known as "shire;" Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, 63 and note 284; Rogers, "Formation of the Parish", 333-4.

borrowed its name from the dedication of its church, in this case to St Etheman; the shire of Culross with the church of St Serf; the lordship of Tibbermore with St Mary's church; the lordship of Findogask with the church of St Findoca; Methven, an extended lordship with an early communal church probably dedicated to St Bean; the lordship of Logiebride with St Brigid's church; and the lordship of Redgorton with its church of St Colin.

It is clear that the patterns of secular territorial organisation and of local church provision which existed at the beginning of the twelfth century and, indeed, which had been in place for some centuries before that, exercised a profound influence on the formation of parishes. It is not an overstatement of the situation to say that the parishes of twelfth-century Perthshire were to a very great extent simply the well-established local territorial communities and their churches in a new ecclesiastical guise. Each multiple estate was a defined territory the boundaries and internal relationships of which would have been known and clearly comprehended both by the members of its community and by the lord, whether royal, comital or ecclesiastical, who governed it and who depended on its effective operation. The prominence of these traditional lords in establishing parishes in Perthshire goes a long way towards explaining why the multiple estates were so readily adapted to a parochial function. Furthermore, just as the familiar secular estates generally provided the geographical basis and the communities for the new parishes so too it was the long-established local estate churches which were elevated to a new status as parish churches.

The process by which the various multiple estates of Perthshire were converted to their new parochial role is explicitly and fairly fully demonstrated by King David I's grant of the church of Longforgan to the priory of St Andrews between 1147 and 1152. The king gave to the canons the *ecclesiam de Foregrund cum decimis et consuetudinibus et rectitudinibus de toto dominio meo et de omnibus hominibus meis de Foregrund et de Foregrund seihire*, the church of Forgan with the teinds, customary offerings and rights of his whole lordship and of all his men of the *toun* of Forgan and of Forgan shire.[93] This grant

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93   *ESC*, no. 225.

conferred upon the church of Forgan a new parochial status by applying to it the ecclesiastical revenues of the community who lived within a defined and well-established lordship, the shire of Forgan. The coincidence of the name of the church, the principal *toun*, and the shire at Longforgan is particularly noteworthy as it provides an important point of comparison for the situation elsewhere. Just as the church of Forgan was first the church of the shire of Forgan before becoming the church of the parish which adopted the common name, so the twelfth-century *ecclesiam sancti Ethernani de Madernin*[94] should be understood to be the church of the thanage of Madderty in a new parochial guise, the *ecclesiam Sancti Beani de Foulis*[95] the shire church of Fowlis Wester, the *ecclesiam de Fortheuiet*[96] the church of the thanage of Forteviot, the *ecclesiam de Strathardolf*[97] the church of the royal manor or thanage of Strathardle and so on. These are only some examples of the common charter practice, which no doubt reflected the actual situation, of referring to each parish church as the church of the estate in which it lay, and confirm the role which the churches had previously held in relation to the estates. The *ecclesiam de Strathardolf* is an explicit example as Strathardle was the name of the thanage rather than of its *caput* and kirktoun, Kirkmichael. The relationship between church and estate which underlies the name form was translated into a relationship between church and parish in the same way as the estate was utilised to provide the territorial and community basis of the parish.

There is little doubt, then, that in the great majority of cases the formation of parishes in Perthshire during the twelfth century was accomplished by the translation of existing local estate units and their churches into a new role as parishes and parochial churches. Shires and other multiple estates became geographical parishes, shire churches became parish churches, and shire communities became communities of parishioners. In this translation the process of parochial formation is

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[94] *Inchaff. Chrs.*, no. 9.
[95] *Ibid.*, no. 28.
[96] *RRS*, i, no. 257.
[97] *RRS*, ii, no. 242.

clearly identifiable. The establishment of teind rights, indeed, which legally created parishes, had the effect of hardening boundaries and fossilised the patterns of territorial organisation and settlement of pre-twelfth-century Scotland. As a consequence, parishes and parish boundaries have preserved substantially intact a record of those patterns since the twelfth century.

The introduction of parishes to Perthshire, as to Scotland generally, took place from the reign of David I and was completed before the end of the twelfth century. It was a product of an increased royal awareness of contemporary European ideas and institutions and of the corresponding desire by the kings of Scots to develop their realm in accordance with those ideas. Parochial formation was a central part of the ecclesiastical reformation which brought the church of the kingdom into full participation in the Church of medieval Christendom. Since it was the court and aristocracy of Norman England that provided the most direct channel through which the kings of Scots had access to the new modes of thought and government, the formation of parishes may in many ways be said to have been an "Anglo-Norman" innovation. The evidence from Perthshire, however, clearly demonstrates that the process did not depend on the prior settlement of Anglo-Norman lords at local level. Nor was the institution of the parish imported and applied in any abstract manner. Rather, it was adapted to the existing social and territorial structure of the Gaelic kingdom.